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monials had formerly been held outdoors or in specially erected structures, the usage would have survived in at least the majority of the cases. On the other hand, the localization of the ceremonies in definite houses of the village circumference indicates that they have taken place there since ancient times. However, it is impossible to determine at present what form these houses originally had. Nowadays the Indians assert that they always had the same shape as today, which is certainly contrary to fact.

Besides the rectangular gable-roofed and the beehive types, the Eastern Timbira employ a number of simpler types of shelter. There are oblique wind screens of palm fronds set against a pole placed horizontally in the branches of two neighboring trees or resting on forked posts. Instead the leaves may be set into the ground in a semicircle, yielding a semiconical wind screen, such as Snethlage observed and as I have several times seen as the first shelter on a house site within a newly laid out village. Rectangular frames resting horizontally at a man's height on forked posts and covered with a few transverse poles and fronds are seen only at festivals on the open steppe; they share the name of the windscreen, ikrépo. Neobrazilians, too, always put them up beside their houses during a celebration. They are sunshades which afford no protection from rain.

Single travelers obliged to spend the night outdoors or surprised by a storm en route cover the top of a bush with branches and palm fronds for a shelter. Or they fasten together the fronds of two appropriately distant paty palm shrubs without cutting them off and thus form a sort of sentry box. During prolonged ceremonies in the plaza the spectators often make mats into sunshades by leaning them against any prop planted into the ground, such as a bow or sword club, or against their own backs.

Finally, at the east end of the Serra do Noquem, eighteen kilometers south of the Krahõ′ village of Pedra Branca, I saw a cave which these Indians occasionally used as a shelter and there were fireplaces at the entrance.

Dress and Adornment

Formerly both sexes in all Timbira groups were completely unclothed. For the most part the men still go naked. In such villages as Ponto, through which Neobrazilians frequently pass, the Indians generally keep at hand a piece of cloth the size of a handkerchief, which they thrust in front of their girdles when obliged to meet civilized folk to whom they consider this concession necessary. With the visitor's departure, however, the cloth is promptly removed, twisted together and tied round the forehead, the upper arm, the handle of a club, or the end of a bow.

Pụkóbye girls still go stark naked until puberty. In other tribes the majority when about six years old, though some not before the tenth year, begiñ to cover the hips with a piece of cloth extending approximately to the knees and knotted or turned down at the left hip (pl. 3, *b*). Among the Krahõ′ some wear only a small strip like the men's. Except at dances, Rąmkõ′kamekra women or young girls rarely appear without this garment nowadays, but when by themselves they frequently remove it. The men inveigh against this offensive but growing feminine custom of constantly wearing a loincloth. During one dance I saw the chiefs summon a man and order him to remove the loincloths of all women performers, who offered not the least resistance.

Such appurtenances of civilization as trousers, shirts, and skirts appear most frequently among the Kre'pụ′mkateye and the Timbira of Araparytiua.

At present a number of Rąmkõ′kamekra men constantly wear a leather belt with

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a metal lock. Attached to it in the back is something like a miniature leather cartridge case of almost cubical form which serves to dispose of their smoking outfit and other trifles; and if anyone owns a bush-knife, that too hangs from his belt. All the young men now covet such a belt, regarding the lidded shoulder bag plaited of burity bast (itself a loan from the Neobrazilians) as appropriate only for their elders. The use of this baldric does not antedate 1901, when forty warriors marched as allies of the Brazilian soldiers against the insurgent Guajajára. It is never worn in ceremonies.

Some men, but no women or children, wear sandals of cow leather, finding them very serviceable on their travels through the sun-baked sand, which is painful even for the Indians. This footgear is a quite recent loan from the Neobrazilians—in contrast to the aboriginal bast-cord sandals of the Akwẽ-Šerénte.

At about thirteen or fourteen the girls receive a girdle (mepre) composed of some thirty tucum threads barely a millimeter in thickness which have been very carefully and evenly twisted on the thigh; they are held together in one spot by wrapping (pl. 10, *b*). The wearer steps into the girdle, with the wrapping in front. Ordinarily a mother gives this girdle to a daughter who has completed her term as auxiliary of some men's organization; and the young woman wears it until her first pregnancy, some resuming it subsequently on festive occasions. At present the Rąmkõ'kamekra girls mostly restrict its use to ceremonial times and dancing. On such occasions they wear only this garment, but generally, though not always, one or more urucú leaves are thrust into it to cover the genitalia (pl. 3, *a*). When not in use this girdle usually rests coiled round the neck of a gourd bottle containing the urucú seeds for body painting; this, with other toilet articles, is generally hung from one of the posts of the girl's elevated bed. Among the Põrekamekra, Pohl saw such girdles and interpreted them as a badge of virginity,[128] which does not hold for the Rąmkõ'kamekra, at least today. Formerly, to be sure, the girls of this tribe are said to have been married only after having received the girdle. A single girdle cord with frontal leaf, such as Pohl observed among the Põrekamekra, is rare among our Canella.

When visiting Barra do Corda the men generally wear trousers, more rarely nothing but a kilt. The women who have no complete dress cover themselves with a loincloth and a cover for the upper part of the body. As Snethlage, too, noted, they assume this costume only just before reaching the first houses of the town and immediately take it off on their departure.

As a matter of fact, these Indians consider clothing not merely inconvenient, but positively indecent, as illustrated by an experience in 1930. Encouraged by my presence, some twenty Guajajára of both sexes decided to visit their old enemies in Ponto. Precisely at the time when the councilors and I were assembled in the plaza at sunset the guests arrived, headed by their chief, José Rosa, who asked for me and was directed toward the plaza. Clad in boots, striped trousers, a shirt no longer white, a rather shabby black coat, and a little straw hat, he stepped among us naked, club-carrying savages and seated himself gingerly on a mat I pushed toward him. Then, however, he delivered a good speech: Assuming our permission, he had come to attend our festival (the second phase of initiation) in order that his and our tribe might henceforth live in peace and amity; the old hostilities were futile, etc. The assemblage listened in amiable mood, gave its consent, and sent him to a chief's dwelling, where he and his attendants received lodgement. Then we adjourned, each going home. At the door of her maternal home Kentapí, then

[128] Pohl, Reise, 2:194.

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about fifteen, was waiting for me, and her first words were: "Imagine that Guajajára not feeling ashamed to go to the plaza in *that* style!" In other words, it was the clothed Guajajára who should have been abashed before us naked men, not vice versa.

The Rąmkõ'kamekra at first treated their visitors as boon companions. How to behave toward the slender, little and bashful women guests was a question, but the men were at once taken into the festive clubs and cordially invited to take part in all ceremonies, but without their trousers and loincloths. The hosts repeatedly urged their visitors to go naked, but the Guajajára always sheepishly evaded. The Canella took their guests bathing, in the expectation that then at last they would shed their clothes, but the Guajajára remained on dry land, merely watching from the bank. That was going too far, so the Canella secretly began mocking the visitors and gradually it dawned upon them that the strangers did not fit into their festive company and had to be got rid of before the beginning of the grand closing ceremony. Forthwith the councilors decided to cut off their provisions and simultaneously to tell them untruthfully that the ceremony would not start before ten days. Sure enough, José Rosa[1] appeared in the plaza three days later, announcing that he was very sorry not to be able to wait, that he had to look after his crops, and would leave the following morning, which he did, liberally supplied by his hosts with victuals for the journey.

All other bands worn around the forehead (pls. 9, *a–g;* 10 *a*), neck, chest, and waist (pl. 11, *a, b*), upper arm, wrists (pl. 11, *c, d;* cf. pl. 13, *b*), knees and ankles are not in constant use, but associated with ceremonial decoration, though a few young men like to appear with at least part of these paraphernalia on everyday occasions (pl. 3, *c, d*). No Canella dreams of putting on his knee bands (reddened with urucú like all decorative articles) with any great regularity from childhood on in order to affect the musculature of his legs. Such procedure would merely result in a still greater protrusion of the calves comparable to its effects among the ancient Island Caribs with their rigid bands; it certainly would not give to the lower leg "the desired slenderness" as Martius was told—presumably only to rationalize the name Canellas finas (p. 29).[2]

Hair.—Except for the Western Gaviões and the tribes which, like the Gurupy groups and the Kre'pų'mkateye, have adopted the Neobrazilian style, all Eastern Timbira of both sexes and all ages dress their hair in identical fashion. Irrespective of mourners and people otherwise in seclusion, there were only two old people in Ponto who failed to cut their hair.

The hair is cut rather high on the forehead, close, and in a horizontal line. At the temples of the upraised head the trimmer continues to cut on both sides in an accurately horizontal line but so as to leave a distance of about 4 cm. between the ends of the lines cut, this space being called krąyimók. The hair is cut in a width of about one centimeter. Where the two hair furrows meet the forehead on either side, the lower corners are rounded off somewhat by removal of hair. Unless smoothed with oil, the coarse, stiff Indian hair then rises more or less shaggy above the furrows, simulating at a distance a cap. The hair about the temples is cut off at the level of the auditory meatus, so that it forms a sort of ear muff (yiré). The occipital hair (krąkatút) is allowed to grow long, but its length greatly varies with individuals, sometimes descending almost to the waist.

Strangely enough, neither Pohl nor Snethlage has noted the occipital gap in the hair furrow that distinguishes Eastern from Western (=Apinayé) Timbira style.[3]

[2] Spix and Martius, 2:822. [3] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 169.

1[i.e. the chief of the Guajajára --- Analyst.]

292
291

a b c d

GIRL IN CORD GIRDLE AND LEAF APRON; AND IN LOINCLOTH; MAN CEREMONIALLY DECORATED

[269]

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/47 cont./

Papagayo and Morro Vermelho, about 100-180 kilometers southwest of Barra do Corda.

During my journey to the Tocantins-Araguaia, which in the late summer of 1908 took me through central Maranhão in the vicinity of their area, I utilized the opportunity to make a fleeting visit to the Canella village of Suridade (1), which is located about

1. Modified form of the Portuguese word "soledade" = solitude.

32 leguas (2) from Barra do Corda, between

2. About 180 kilometers.

the moradas (3) Buritĺ dos Cavallos and

3. By "morada" is meant a settlement of one or usually several farms.

Casimba, half a day's journey away from the caravan route.

A short account of my stay with the

Canella Indian with neck cord, hip band of palm-leaf strips, wrist band of bast, and huge ear-disks (kui).

inhabitants of Suridade may be given space here.

A good hour's journey behind Buritĺ dos Cavallos a scarcely noticeable, narrow Indian path branches off from the main road into the forest in a southerly direction. I took it around noon on the twelfth of October, accompanied only by one servant, after having sent my troop on ahead to Casimba.

/47 cont./

123 Scarcely 15 minutes later there appeared before us from [137] out of the dry underbrush of the forest, which shortly afterward [142] changed into densely overgrown tableland, a copper-brown, [291] frightenningly ugly, already old Canella Indian, completely naked, [302] with long deep-black hair flowing down over his shoulders and [304] back (4), his ear lobes slit far apart, and holding a bow and arrows [411] in his hands.

4. The hair style of the Canella Indians corresponds exactly to that of the Pure-came-Crans /Porecamecra/, according to the description by Martius. See Ethnographie I, 287. "The Pure-came-crans wear their hair hanging down stiffly from the crown of the head to the ears and cut it here, following the curvature of the head in such a way that a furrow is formed, under which they let it grow again and fall down to the shoulders." The hair skullcap is actually the tribal badge of the Canella, and thus the supposition that the Canella of Suridade might be a remnant of the Pure-came-Crans visited by Pohl is not unjustified.

302 171 302 619 114

in his hands.

123 576 [171] The usual Brazilian greeting formulas, which were quite familiar to the old man:

"Como passou compadre /How are you, Friend/?"

"Muito obrigado. E como vae o Senhor /Very well, thank you. And how are you, Sir/?"

"Bem /Fine/." Laconically it continues. -- The Canella: "Do you have any tobacco?"

Answer: "No. -- We are going to your village." -- "I shall go with you."

[302] [411] Shortly afterward we met five more comrades of grotesque appearance, painted with urucú red and genipa juice, almost all armed with guns. -- Another greeting scene.

/48 cont./

123 622 574 352 285 upon him by the governor as a badge of his rank -- Surrounded by many curious members of his tribe, he welcomed me with dignified gravity, bade me enter, and ushered me and my servant to the place of honor on his bed, a wooden platform covered with

142 291 301 302 516

The Canella Indian Luiz and his wife Donna.

123 622 574 352 285 buriti-fiber mats (Port. girao) (2), which stood apart to the right

2. Pronounce the "g" in "girao" like the French "j."

of the entrance.

342 Some minutes were needed to become accustomed to the twilight in the room, which received daylight only through the door and a few gaps in the palm-straw walls.

356 The relatively great cleanliness which prevailed in the hut made a pleasant impression.

/48 cont./

352 Along the entire wall opposite the entrance, about ten
513 meters long, stood the girao (3), which was meant for the family

[171]

3. The custom of sleeping on wooden platforms is peculiar to many tribes of the Gē group; among others, according to the Mẽkubengokrä, to the Sikrĩ dwelling in the source area of the Rio Branco, an upper right tributary of the Itacayunas,. who, incidentally, are said to have given up their nomadic life, live in solidly built huts, and have extensive plantings.

and the nearest relatives of the chief as a place to sleep.

352 /49/ By means of buriti-mat partitions /illustration appears here/ three "separate chambers" had been created on the platform, which, at my entrance, were densely occupied by men and women.

526 The Canella Indians, men as well as women, represent in general
[142] a handsome, well-proportioned type of human being, which is no longer surprising when one knows that they zealously pursue the practice of gymnastic exercises. According to the account of a reliable man from Barra do Corda, they beat out a path up to two kilometers long through the forest for this purpose, make the path completely level, and exercise on the track thus created, principally by running races. The physical exercises are said to last often from morning until evening almost without interruption.

582 Only the young man who has passed certain tests of strength and skill in order to prove that he is in a position to feed and protect his family is able to marry.

● 291 Only the chief wore clothing which probably, unused for a
[622] long time, had been hidden away very neatly in a calabash or in one of the many small baskets hanging on the walls.

All the other inhabitants and onlookers were unclothed, with the exception of the women and a few men, who concealed their lower bodies with improvised loincloths.